

## **Analysing The Implementation of Agrarian Reform Policy in Supporting National Resilience**

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### **Abstract**

*Agrarian reform is a strategic policy that aims to redistribute land to the community, tiny farmers, and tenants to reduce land ownership inequality and improve people's welfare. Land inequality in Indonesia is very high, with the land tenure Gini index reaching 0.68, higher than the income Gini index, which stands at 0.388. This inequality not only creates socio-economic problems such as poverty and agrarian conflict but also impacts national resilience. This research uses SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis to evaluate the implementation of agrarian reform policy and determine the right strategy to accelerate its implementation in supporting national resilience. This analysis identifies several strengths in the agrarian reform policy, such as government commitment and adequate infrastructure support. However, areas for improvement, such as lack of optimization of access to agrarian reform programs and slow resolution of land disputes, were also found. Opportunities include community empowerment and increased economic resources, while threats come from resistance from parties with specific interests and challenges in land redistribution. The results of this analysis are expected to provide strategic recommendations to improve the implementation of agrarian reform policies, such as strengthening cross-sectoral cooperation, increasing socialization and training, and improving access to information for the community. Thus, an effective agrarian reform program is expected to enhance community welfare and contribute to national resilience.*

**Keywords:** *Agrarian Reform, SWOT Analysis, Strategy, National Resilience.*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

According to Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defense, national defence refers to all measures taken to protect the state's sovereignty, its territory's integrity, and its citizens' security against threats and disruptions to these elements. Generally speaking, there are two categories of national defence:

1. Military defence relies on the TNI as the main component of the State's defence, supported by reserve and supporting components through mobilisation that is prepared and developed early to face military threats.
2. Non-military defence relies on people's power, which involves all components of the nation to overcome non-military threats.

Article 30 Clause 2 of the 1945 Constitution states that "*the defence and security of the state shall be carried out through a system of universal people's defence and security by the Indonesian National Army and the Indonesian National Police, as the main force and the people, as the supporting force*". This article states that Indonesia's national defence is conducted through a universal national defence system. Any national resource, including territories and all of its citizens, is included in a universal defence system.

The management of national resources is one of the essential things in the universal defence system, as stipulated in Law No. 23/2019 on the Management of National Resources for State Defense. The management of national resources in the universal defence system includes:

1. The utilisation of national resources for defence purposes.

National resources that can be utilised for defence include Human resources, such as experts, manpower, and other human resources; Natural resources, such as natural resources, energy resources, and other natural resources; and Artificial resources, such as infrastructure, technology, and other artificial resources.

2. Preservation of national resources for military use.

National resources must be maintained for defence purposes, including Preserving natural resources, Maintaining environmental sustainability, and Building defence infrastructure.

3. Protection of national resources from threats.

National resources must be protected from various threats, including Military threats, such as enemy attacks, and Non-military threats, such as natural disasters.

Makmur (2014) states that defense science is the science and art of managing national resources to deal with threats to the integrity and sovereignty of the state. The defense system is designed to address any threat that could compromise the integrity and sovereignty of the state. There are three categories of threats: military, hybrid, and non-military. Military threats attack and disable the country's defense capabilities by using military force, either directly or indirectly. Non-military threats attack national defense capabilities using non-military means, including economic, social, cultural, and others, either directly or indirectly. Threats that combine military, political, economic, and non-military elements are known as hybrid threats.

Non-military threats are often invisible and unreported but can threaten the nation's safety and the state's sovereignty and territorial integrity. One significant example is threats in the economic and socio-cultural dimensions, which often stem from economic inequality and land distribution. According to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (2023), the Gini ratio index of Indonesian people's income stands at 0.388, indicating an unequal income distribution. Worse still, the land tenure Gini index stood at 0.68, reflecting much greater inequality in land ownership. This data reveals that only around 1% of the population controls 68% of the total land in Indonesia. This inequality often leads to problems such as agrarian conflicts, which are detrimental to the economy and threaten social and political stability.

Land inequality is a serious concern because it can trigger horizontal conflicts between community groups, which impacts national resilience. In addition, this inequality hinders the poor's access to natural and economic resources, exacerbates poverty, and reduces opportunities for inclusive economic development. In the context of national resilience, fair and equitable land resource management is crucial to ensure the country's social, political, and economic stability.

The Government of Indonesia continues to implement economic equality policies with 3 (three) main pillars: land, opportunity, and human resource capacity (Setkab, 2017). Regarding land, the Government is implementing a rural reform policy that includes the legalisation of community land assets, land redistribution, providing access to forestry land use with social forestry schemes, and a moratorium on oil palm plantations (Meiryani & Setiawan, 2022). A national strategic initiative, the agrarian reform program seeks to decrease land ownership and control inequality, establish prosperity and welfare, enhance and preserve environmental quality, boost food security, settle agrarian disputes, enhance populace access to financial resources, and lessen poverty and unemployment. The agrarian reform program is anticipated to lessen land tenure inequality through land reform and boost local economies through access reform to achieve national resilience.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This study discusses the implementation of agrarian reform and strategies to accelerate its implementation to support national resilience. The method used in the study is a qualitative method with a SWOT analysis. Qualitative research is a research method that aims to understand a phenomenon or event deeply and thoroughly. Qualitative methods focus on the meaning and experience of individuals or groups in a particular context and do not use statistics or numbers to analyse data (Creswell, 2014). SWOT analysis is used to thoroughly understand all organisational issues related to work implementation. SWOT analysis can be used to help identify vulnerabilities as well as hazards, which can invalidate any action plan. This analysis also informs opportunities and strengths that can be used as strategies to increase progressivity in activities.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

For the benefit of the Indonesian people's prosperity, agrarian reform is the reorganisation of the ownership, use, and control structures of land in a way that is more equitable through asset reform and access reform. Reducing land ownership and controlling inequality are among the many issues that agrarian reform seeks to address. Other issues include: 1) enhancing the welfare and sources of prosperity for the populace; 2) preserving and enhancing the environment; 3) enhancing food security; 4) resolving conflicts among farmers; 5) facilitating better access to financial resources; and 6) lowering poverty and generating employment. One of President Joko Widodo's administration's national strategic programs, agrarian reform, aims to uplift Indonesia from the periphery and enhance living standards.

Agrarian Reform is a significant national agenda item that needs to be well-planned to guarantee that goals are met. Four primary areas of activity are often included in the agrarian reform implementation method, namely (1) object determination, (2) subject determination, (3) mechanism and delivery system of agrarian reform, and (4) access reform. The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) is the leading sector of national land development. The principle of land management by ATR/BPN since 2005 has been launched by fulfilling four principles, namely:

1. Land management must genuinely contribute to enhancing a more equitable standard of living concerning land use, ownership, and control.
2. Land management must also significantly improve the welfare of the populace and provide new avenues for their prosperity.
3. By giving future generations the widest possible access to the economic resources of society, particularly land, land management must significantly contribute to ensuring the sustainability of the Indonesian system of society, nationhood, and statehood.
4. Land management must also truly contribute to creating a harmonious order of life by resolving various agrarian disputes and conflicts and organising a management system that no longer gives rise to disputes and conflicts.

Agrarian Reform is the Indonesian government's efforts in land management to improve people's welfare, provide economic access, and resolve land conflict disputes. The Central Government and Regional Governments implement Agrarian Reform through the planning and implementation of Agrarian Reform. Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform regulates the Agrarian Reform Task Force.

The Agrarian Reform Task Force (Gugus Tugas Reforma Agraria/GTRA) is established by the Indonesian government to implement the National Strategic Program on Agrarian Reform.

GTRA consists of cross-sector elements, namely: Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) as chair; Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs; Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs; Ministry of Home Affairs; Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Agriculture; Ministry of Environment and Forestry; Ministry of Public Works and Housing; and Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries. GTRA has the following tasks and functions: Developing and establishing a national action plan for the implementation of Agrarian Reform; Coordinating and optimising the implementation of Agrarian Reform; Evaluating and monitoring the implementation of Agrarian Reform; and Preparing a report on the implementation of Agrarian Reform. GTRA comprises elements from the central government, local government, and community. Elements from the local government consist of the head of the region, the head of the agency in charge of agrarian affairs, and the head of the agency in charge of community empowerment. Elements from the community consist of representatives of farmers, fishermen, indigenous peoples, and academics. GTRA was established to support and accelerate the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia.

Since the Basic Agrarian Law was enacted in 1960, Indonesia has only been able to register approximately 20 million parcels of land until 1997. Then, in 1997, Government Regulation (PP) No. 24 of 1997 on Land Registration and Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs/Head of the National Land Agency No. 3 of 1997 on Provisions for the Implementation of Government Regulation No. 24 of 1997 on Land Registration was issued in the hope that the government would be more agile in implementing land registration with the issuance of technical regulations. However, from 1997 to 2016, only 40 million parcels of land were registered. This condition shows that from 1960 to 2016, or approximately 56 years, the government could only register 60 million parcels of land, equivalent to 1 million parcels per year. With a target of 126 million land parcels in Indonesia, Indonesia will take another 60-70 years to be completely mapped.



Figure 1. Condition of Land Data Quantity

(Source: Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, 2023)

President Joko Widodo's administration issued an Agrarian Reform policy in 2018 by signing Presidential Regulation Number 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform. Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018 is a law that comprehensively regulates agrarian reform in Indonesia. It regulates the objectives, subjects, objects, stages, and implementation of agrarian reform. This Presidential Regulation is then elaborated with several technical regulations, namely Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency Number 16 of 2018, which regulates the procedures for implementing land redistribution; Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency

Number 17 of 2018, which regulates the procedures for resolving land disputes; and Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency Number 18 of 2018 which regulates the guidelines for implementing the National Strategic Program for Agrarian Reform to achieve fair and equitable agrarian reform. In addressing the acceleration of asset legalisation/land registration, the government issued a complete systematic land registration policy (Pendaftaran Tanah Sistematis Lengkap/PTSL) based on Presidential Instruction No. 2/2018 on the Acceleration of Complete Systematic Land Registration. This Presidential Instruction instructs relevant ministers and heads of agencies to implement PTSL in an integrated way. With the PTSL program, there has been a significant increase in land certification; from 2016 to 2022, 100 million parcels of land have been certified, an increase of 40 million parcels in 6 years, whereas previously, it took 60 years for 60 million parcels. This progress is an extraordinary achievement.

SWOT analysis is used to determine strategies for implementing agrarian reform policies and PTSL activities so that effective and efficient implementation is obtained to accelerate land registration in Indonesia and reduce inequality in land tenure in the context of people's economic equality so that national resilience can be realised.

The following is a SWOT analysis conducted on the agrarian reform policy:

SWOT Analysis		
<b>Internal Factors</b>	<p><b>Strengths:</b> Government commitment to implementing agrarian reform Adequate infrastructure and resource support</p>	<p><b>Weaknesses:</b> Lack of optimisation in access to agrarian reform Delays in resolving agrarian/land disputes and conflicts</p>
<b>External Factors</b>	<p><b>Opportunities:</b> Potential to improve community welfare Opportunity to increase community participation in the agrarian reform program</p>	<p><b>Threats:</b> Resistance from parties associated with vested interests Difficulty in overcoming agrarian differences and conflicts</p>

Table 1. SWOT Analysis

### Strengths:

#### 1. Government commitment to implementing agrarian reform

The government's commitment to implementing agrarian reform is one of the essential factors that can support the successful implementation of the policy. The government's commitment can be reflected in several things, such as:

##### a. Formulation of comprehensive regulations

The government has issued Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018 on Agrarian Reform, which comprehensively regulates agrarian reform, starting from the objectives, subjects, objects, stages, and implementation of agrarian reform. This regulation is evidence of the government's commitment to implementing agrarian reform.

##### b. Establishment of the Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA)

The government has established GTRA to coordinate the implementation of agrarian reform. GTRA comprises various related ministries and institutions, showing the government's commitment to implementing agrarian reform cross-sectorally.

#### 2. Adequate infrastructure and resource support

Adequate land infrastructure, such as land maps and ownership data, as well as financial support and human resources in quantity and competence, can facilitate the implementation of land registration and land redistribution. It is also supported by the quantity of human resources from the District Land Office to the Provincial Regional Office.

**Weaknesses:**

1. Lack of optimisation in access to agrarian reform

There is less optimal access to agrarian reform due to several factors, such as people still need to understand it, including its objectives, benefits, and procedures. Then, the government still needs to provide the public with adequate access to information and data about agrarian reform. This condition can make it difficult for the community to know the purpose and benefits of access to reform and insufficient information about agrarian reform, such as requirements, procedures, and locations targeted by agrarian reform.

2. Delays in resolving agrarian/land disputes and conflicts

Agrarian conflicts continue to occur because land tenure is still unequal. The dimensions of resolving agrarian conflicts are vast and complex. In one case, agrarian conflicts often involve various sectors, ranging from social, political, and legal to security. Agrarian conflicts involving various parties should still be resolved with the current regulatory framework. However, these regulations still need to be synchronised so that there is a common perception among ministries/agencies and other related parties when implementing them in the field.

**Opportunities:**

1. Potential to improve community welfare

Agrarian reform can redirect land's structure, possession, and utilisation by changing it equitably to reduce poverty and enhance opportunities for economic resources by people. Further, agrarian reform reduces tenure inequalities, considering what belongs to the community or a single individual. The other aspect is that agrarian reform will help increase productivity levels for land and enhance national food security.

2. Opportunity to increase community participation in the agrarian reform program

Community participation is needed to accelerate agrarian reform. Furthermore, with community participation, it is hoped that the community will be willing to succeed in this program to achieve the goal of prosperity for the people.

**Threats:**

1. Resistance from parties associated with vested interests

Resistance from parties related to personal interests can threaten the implementation of agrarian reform policies. Such resistance can come from various parties, including communities, companies, or individuals who feel their interests or rights are threatened by agrarian reform policies. This resistance can appear in various forms, such as protests, resistance, or rejection of government development plans. For example, there was a rejection of the Land Bank, which is a land-related policy. It was felt that the presence of the Land Bank would make it more difficult for people to obtain land certification because expired ex-HGU land or abandoned land would become state land as a development reserve. This condition will slow down the land redistribution program. If understood holistically, the presence of a land bank will make it easier because it has become a land administration system, so the agrarian reform program becomes more accessible to implement.

2. Difficulty in overcoming agrarian differences and conflicts

Agrarian conflicts still occur, and many agrarian cases remain unresolved. Agrarian conflicts are triggered by land tenure inequality in Indonesia, and there are three main sectors, plantations, mining and forestry, that always dominate the causes of agrarian conflicts. This

difficulty is a challenge in implementing agrarian reform comprehensively to resolve agrarian conflicts.

### Strategy

From the results of the agrarian reform policy milestones in 2023, as shown in the figure below, the implementation of the asset legalisation program has shown progress by the flow. What is of more concern is related to agrarian reform in terms of forest area release and the access reform program.



Figure 2. Agrarian Reform Milestones in 2023

(Source: Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, 2023)

This SWOT analysis can help identify appropriate strategies to improve the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia. The following are some strategies that can be implemented based on the results of the SWOT analysis of the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia:

1. Building synergistic cooperation with parties related to agrarian reform activities  
 The asset legalisation stage has shown good progress. It is necessary to increase cooperation between the central and local governments and related stakeholders in handling the acceleration of agrarian reform. The Government has supported this agrarian reform activity by forming the GTRA team.
2. Agrarian reform significantly encourages community empowerment/access reform activities by providing various types of Implementation priority strategies for the implementation of access reform activities.  
 Collaborate with sources of capital funding such as banks, training and community empowerment to improve skills to improve the economy using capital from asset legalisation.
3. Increased training and socialisation on agrarian reform programs  
 Conduct training for agrarian reform facilitators and inform activities at the village level to better communicate the program

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, implementing agrarian reform in Indonesia is an essential effort to improve people's welfare, especially in the agricultural sector, and reduce injustice in the distribution of land ownership. Significant land inequality, with the Gini index of land tenure reaching 0.68 and about 1% of the population controlling 68% of the total land, indicates that most land is concentrated in a few hands. This inequality exacerbates economic injustice and is a source of

rural conflict that can disrupt social stability and national security. Therefore, agrarian reform must be implemented with a comprehensive and inclusive strategy.

One of the main strategies is to strengthen cooperation between the central and local governments and with various stakeholders, including civil society and the private sector, to ensure better coordination in implementing agrarian reform policies. In addition, community empowerment is also crucial, through education programs, training, and access to economic resources, to improve people's capacity and skills in managing the land they own or acquire. Transparency and accessibility of information related to agrarian reform must also be improved so that people can understand the procedures and benefits of this policy and actively participate in the programs. An evidence-based approach, using accurate data and analysis, is essential to identify land inequality problems and develop practical solutions. This approach includes dealing with resistance from special interest groups that may oppose land redistribution. Thus, it is hoped that agrarian reform can be effectively implemented, ultimately improving people's welfare and strengthening Indonesia's national resilience.

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